this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses.

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer.

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home.

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal.

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming fr the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and fie for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scattered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This lends to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their paren

to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shiroma in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself.

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of these main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of O-Bon, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows.

Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas.

When this situation is compared with Minatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Minatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Minatogawa. Of the 213 households in Minatogawa, 53 had the surname of Tamaki (or Tamashiro), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other

4 In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season. 231 [262] [527]

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A young pig may cost about ¥2000. Male pigs intended for market (nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home. Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is ¥200. If the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in, if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the ebb tide he cannot. [426] [435] [232]

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof. The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors, or with other sturdy materials. 231 343 [434] [511]

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself. The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous left overs from the table. 231 824 [462]

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on 231

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayū) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from ¥20 which is usual to ¥100 which is uncommon. [856] 527

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [887] [533]

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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the
861 time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around
863 one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

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562 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

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593 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child, though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

I: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The New Year

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Two basic themes are expressed in public celebrations and holidays. The first of these is remembrance and respect for the dead. The holidays are in part public observances of basic obligations under the family system. In the second place, holidays are occasions of thanksgiving. In a year there are not many official holidays or rest days. The work year is not interrupted, as is our custom, with week ends which may provide from one to two days of leisure. Sunday is not a day of rest. Officials and school teachers do not work at their official duties on the week ends.

The traditional public holidays are based on the lunar calendar. [805] In the discussion which follows, some holidays have been included, even though they involve only some of the people.

The western New Year is observed perfunctorily. It is observed [177] only by present and former officials and honored elders of a township. The custom, about 40 years old in Gushichan-son, is known as New Year Banquet Party (Shinnenenkai). Headmen from each of the villages, members [554] and former members of the village councils, and respected elders, the mayor and his subordinate officials and members of the township assembly are the chief participants. It is a social event, held in a public building or at a school, a "meeting for conversation" (hanashiai) at which food and sake are served. The event begins early in the afternoon and is generally over by early evening.

Lunar New Year (shōgatsu), the first day of the first lunar month and O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, are the two most important holidays. Lunar New Year falls in late January or early February. (In 1951 it was on February 6; in 1952, on January 27). This is a time of new beginnings, of thanksgiving, family reunions, and observances in honor of the dead. It is a three day holiday, with much prior preparation, and on the third day, there is either a symbolic or a partial return to work.

The new year is preceded by a series of activities on the last day of the 12th month (Ōmisoka). Before the war, these preparations were more elaborate than they are now. In Hinatogawa, bamboo and pine poles with [789] a rice straw rope (shimenawa) hanging across the top were placed at the compound entrance. The purpose was to scare off evil spirits and devils. A piece of charcoal wrapped in sea weed and an orange hung from the rice rope. This custom now is also rare in Matsuda. Only one rice straw rope used for this purpose was observed, and this had been put up some time before the new year.

Other customs of preparing for the new beginning are still observed in all the villages: the house is cleaned; a bath is taken; old debts are paid; the New Year pig is slaughtered, or in the interests of economy three or four families may share a pig. The day before the New Year is the occasion for recalling one's bad deeds and of resolving on [577]

527 577 better behavior. In one instance from Matsuda, the members of the family talk over their good and bad acts and resolve henceforth to do good.

527 [823] In all the villages, the custom of new or young water (wakamizu) has survived. In Hinatogawa, at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning of the New Year, young children take fresh water in a tea pot to the homes of relatives. The new water is poured into a cup, placed on the Buddhist god shelf, or on the shelf of the fire god in the kitchen. The children are given ¥5 or ¥10 by the relatives, who are then supposed to stay young themselves. In Matsuda, new water is taken from a well early in the morning, and some is put on the god shelf. The first tea of the New Year is made with "young water".

A parent may also give a piece of pork with salt on it to his child announcing that he is now one year older. This custom is still observed, even though ages officially are now reckoned in the western manner.

In all the villages, the morning observances are family affairs; the public nature of the holiday is evident later. Tea and sake are [769] placed in front of the ancestral tablets on the god shelf. A fresh [782] kimono is put on and the offering is made before breakfast. Then the father takes the sake from the god shelf, offering sips first to his wife and then to the children.

[778] Later there are visits to the place of the patron deity or first ancestor of the village (ujigami). In Hanashiro, all of the people make this visit. In Hinatogawa, it is also a village affair, but is more involved because there are more places to go: a local religious site of unknown origin, the palace of the gods of the sea (ryūgū), the supposed place of the mountain god, the three wells with their god places, and finally to the places of the two patron deities. In Matsuda, the village head man, accompanied by surviving minor [793] priestesses (formerly in the noro order) make visits to the place of the patron deity. But whether all the villagers or only their representatives take part, the visits have the same meaning: to offer thanks to the founders of the village.

The New Year is a time for extended family reunions. If the home site of the extended family is not in the village, the family or a representative may go to the reunion in another village, if it is not too far away. Only members of the extended family attend these celebrations.

With early morning observances in the home, the public ceremonies, and the extended family reunions over, the gay, informal and public [574] part of the holiday begins. Hospitality is offered on all sides, and there is much drinking among the men. The celebration continues for the rest of the first day and through the second. The third day is a transitional day whose theme is the need of returning to work. This is hachibaru (to begin farming). The day is given over to more feasting and drinking and to some actual or token work.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

By the 7th day, the reminders of New Year have been cleared away. The old offerings are taken from the god shelf and replaced by new food. The rice straw rope, if any, has been removed. 527 ●

Of all the holidays New Year is the most eagerly anticipated and the most varied in its activities. It combines ideas of renewal and new beginnings with worship of the dead and of the founders of the village, as well as being a means of making closer ties with more distant relatives of the extended family. It is a time of work and some pleasure for the women, a time of relaxation and drinking for the men.

2

Jūrokunichi

The second public holiday, Jūrokunichi (literally 16th day) is on the 16th day of the 1st lunar month (February 21, 1951). This is a holiday of devotion and prayer at the family tomb. Worshippers go singly or in a group. The tomb is cleaned and food is left for the dead. 769 [796]

In Hanashiro, food is taken in two lacquer boxes (jūbako) the first of which contains rice cakes, the second, frittors, meat, bean curd, and other food depending on the resources of the family. For the first observance after death, two boxes are taken on this holiday. On succeeding anniversaries only the box containing the fritters, meat, bean curd and other foods is taken.[1] The purpose of this offering is to comfort the dead. The food, usually with tea and sake, is left before the tomb for about two hours and taken home, where it is eaten. (Offerings at tombs or at home are only temporary; later they are removed and eaten as ordinary food). The lacquer boxes may also be taken on New Year, at the spring equinox, and at O-Bon. [262] [415]

In Hinatogawa, descendants of the former nobility or gentry (shisoku) take four boxes, two of rice cakes, two of the miscellaneous foods, while descendants of commoners take two boxes, one of the rice cakes, and one of the assortment. Every year the same offering is made. It is not reduced to one box after the first. In Matsuda, any kind of a flower is placed by the tomb. A lacquer box with food is prepared for all who died during the preceding year, but it remains on the god shelf in the house and is not taken to the tomb. The contents of the two boxes are as previously described. On succeeding anniversaries after the first, plates instead of lacquer boxes are used. [565] [262]

1 The idea behind this is not clear. Possibly in the first year the dead person requires more food and comfort than in succeeding ones. As they do with so many other practices, most Okinawans explain it by saying that it is shikan (the custom).

3

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (ōmugi) or barley cakes [262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Matsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village [193] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

● 527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, [524] (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob- [562] served. In Hinatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Hinatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and sanisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival 526 of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Hinatogawa. It is this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the [178] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings [182] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the [193] spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice instead of for barley. In Matsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

[114] [825] 2 According to a Matsuda informant, women should not sew on this day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering plants for fertiliser, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Festival of the Full Moon

527 The autumnal equinox, called, like the spring festival, higan, is the last big celebration of the lunar year. It is held during the full moon around the 15th day of the 8th lunar month (September 15, in 1951). It is called Jugoya. The date varies each year, and the actual time for the festival is decided upon by each village. The climax of the festival is the night of the full moon. This, a Buddhist festival, is a time for respect to the dead and of thanksgiving. It is not celebrated in all villages of Okinawa. If it has been a good year, the inducements for local celebrations are greater. The ceremonies are similar to those of the spring equinox on the 15th day of the second month, when thanks are given for barley, and to the 14th day of the 5th month, a day of thanksgiving for rice. The differences seem to be that the festival of the second month is primarily thanksgiving for barley, that of the fifth for rice, and that of the autumnal equinox for all crops. Ceremonies occur within the homes, but public celebrations may not be held in all the villages.

527 788 In one private observance, an old woman placed two bowls of rice, dyed pink (someiko) on the alcove of the first room. After placing the rice on the alcove, she went to the Buddhist god shelf in the second room where she lit charcoal sticks. Then, sitting before the god shelf, she ignited three strips of paper with a charcoal stick. These provide pocket money for the dead. The paper had previously been prepared by placing an aluminum Japanese 10 sen coin (minted before the war) on the paper and tapping the coin sharply with a hammer to make the impression on the paper. The embers were quenched with a little sake. A wash basin with two strips of wood laid diagonally across its top was used for the burning to eliminate the danger of fire. The old lady's granddaughter held the paper on the wood strips with a pair of chopsticks. The old lady then offered three prayers in a scarcely audible voice, the first two with bowed head, the last with her face to the god shelf. Then she served a meal of rice, dyed pink, fish fritters, and sake, though she did not partake of the drink.

769 Providing pocket money for the dead by tapping an impression of a coin on a strip of paper is now practiced only by the very old. In Hanashiro and Matsuda, this custom is rarely observed. Formerly in Hanashiro, everyone offered pocket money on New Year, O-Bon, and the equinoctial festivals.

In observances which include a party, the ceremonies are likely to be simpler. In one such ceremony observed in Hinatogawa, white rice cakes and an assortment of miscellaneous foods, tea, sake, and charcoal sticks were placed on the god shelf. The charcoal sticks were lighted. The rest of the evening was like a normal party, with its segregation of the sexes, noisy conversation, and the running children who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks.

who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks. 000

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles. The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing the samisen or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of two kinds: one symbolised the crane and the turtle (tsurukame). The turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum tree triad (shochikubai) symbolising long life and beauty. (2) Female impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slapping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a cocoanut shell. The long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log.

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5]

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening entertainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own mats and their own sake. Most of the officials of the township attended.

5 Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing a tug of war in Naha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the various participants. Facing p. 179.

Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play. (The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

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Other Holidays of the Year

Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9, 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good health. The festival is only spottily observed.

There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed. They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognized in all the villages studied.

The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year (tōji) is known, but Hinatogawa was the only place in which its observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginoza villages.

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Near the end of the lunar year, Matsuda gives a party (keirokai) for all persons over 70 years of age. In 1951, the party began in the middle afternoon and ended at dusk. In the early or speech making phase, the mayor, introduced by the village headman, congratulated the old people on attaining their age. The headman, bowing low before the elders, then thanked the mayor. The primary school principal told them how American old people were able to drive automobiles, basing his remarks on a Japanese magazine article, and needlessly told his elders how to live a long life. His audience was much amused at the talents of the American old people. The men and women sat separately. A few children accompanied the old ladies. This is also an occasion for giving children born during the year a little money. After the speeches, both the old men and women drank sake in liberal quantities. The dances of the old were done with grace and agility. This custom is followed in the Gushichan area and may be widespread in Okinawa, though the dates for the occasions may vary.

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562 his high score. Under American influence, universal suffrage and
666 equal representation have been introduced and formally adopted in some village affairs, although the household head vote—traditionally mostly male—is still maintained in many cases.

562 The Women's Association is the main force behind the attempts to
575 give women greater equality. The spokesmen for this group do not proclaim equality for women as such as the important goal but express hopes that women's life can be made easier by reducing their work load and providing more conveniences for them, such as better stoves. Attempts are made to give a woman more time to spend at home instead of in forests or fields and to reduce the expenses involved in preparing for holidays and special celebrations. The opinions of the Women's Association carry weight in village affairs. This, as one old woman pointed out, is a considerable change from earlier times. There had been a Women's Association before the war, but
[623] women were still barred from participation in village meetings at that time, and the only place where they could make themselves heard in village matters was at the meeting of the individuals required to do periodic labor for the village.

562 The situation at the time of fieldwork with regard to the attempts
527 of women to gain more recognition and the role which men play in this respect is illustrated by a celebration of Mother's Day—an event
575 which came to Taira quite recently from the outside. The women de-
[177] cided to observe it by taking off from their daily duties during the afternoon. The Women's Association made all arrangements, so that it was not a day dedicated by children or adult men to the mothers, but a day that the mothers celebrated themselves. Nevertheless, for the meeting at the old warehouse, where mats had been spread and food prepared, there were also tables arranged for the male village officials, such as the headman, village council members, and the policeman. They started the affair by treating the women to a few speeches in which the importance of motherhood was eulogized by such observations as: "A man can be great only if he has a mother who is making him great," and (from the policeman): "Mothers are an important factor in preventing juvenile delinquency." After this initial hour-long introduction, the leader of the Women's Association declared that festivities could now begin and that she "did not care how much sake the women drank as long as they were happy on this day." The children, who had been told by their teachers to help their mothers on this day by cleaning house and freeing them from some of their chores, gathered near the building, received some feast food and played as usual, and men—with the exception of the invited officials—worked

as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grandparental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grandmothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

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parent aftereffects of remorse or physical incapacitation, is a characteristic of this village. Excessive or orgiastic feasting which might interfere with work duties of the following day or days is absent. Leisure events spent in groups are joyful and desirable to all, untinged by hidden motives of social compulsion or conformity, which marks so many recreational activities in a culture like ours. 517

The village calendar does not include a weekly rest day, although government offices are closed on Sunday. Rest and holidays for the majority of villagers are regulated by religious and agricultural events which, in former times, were observed at least once during each lunar month. Although some of these have been simplified or given up in recent times by people whose participation in the old religion has diminished or by those who seek a sounder economy by urging greater production of crops and accumulation of savings, when it comes to observing and enjoying holidays, even the most rational village leader forgets his concern for the time being. The elaborateness of celebrations may be less today, as a result of economic pressure, than in former times—the spirit hardly could be. To know and appreciate the sense of humor and the wit of the people, one has only to attend their parties. During other times these qualities are less expressed—though they are never completely absent. If the naive comment that Okinawans are "childlike"—an observation which Westerners in describing them have permitted themselves—can be taken to have any foundation in fact, it could only be that like many children they are capable of complete absorption and indulgence in fun when the occasion is proper. For the Taira person such indulgence cannot be achieved without food, drink, music, and dance. These are the main components of entertainment which help to elicit gaiety and good humor, whether during holidays observed by families in individual homes, or those of the descent group main houses, or in village-wide celebrations, which are extremely common. These ingredients also appear during more informal hours of relaxation, each day after work, when there are small gatherings here and there, though on a more modest scale. 527 796 157 527 574 [522]

Since calendrical holidays, whether of a family nature or community-wide, have many aspects in common, we may mention some of these in general. Most gatherings begin in the late afternoon and last until late at night although never until daybreak. These are the rare times when people can dress in their best clothes and by doing so shed, perhaps, symbolically all associations with everyday routine. 527 574

The sequence of events at any kind of celebration is somewhat like a veil dance during which one layer of formality after another disappears. A formal period precedes not only all village-wide celebrations

527 574 —held at the old warehouse, the village office, or, during warm days, outside—but also introduces all family or small group events. This is the time when guests arrive, polite greetings are exchanged with everyone in the order of his relative status, and a seat is found in accordance with it. Everyone sits quietly and politely, men with legs crossed tightly in front, women resting their buttocks between their heels. The conversation is somewhat stilted and reluctant. Meanwhile the hostess and her female helpers set cups before each guest, and they, or the male host himself, may pour tea.

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537 527 574 Village celebrations of an official nature, such as "Mother's Day" (see Chapter 6) or the reception of the newly elected mayor, or New Year, are times for oratory of a sober nature. The village dignitaries and honored visitors, frequently seated at tables overlooking the community on the floor, each give a speech consisting of lengthy inventories of events and accomplishments. Sometimes food and drink are not served until the last one has spoken, but more often the situation is mellowed by the simultaneous serving of food and drink, which add to the inspiration of the speaker and the enthusiasm of his listeners.

527 574 262 Special dishes are associated with different holidays, and food, when served, begins to dispel some of the formality. Even if there are no speeches, it gives everybody something to do and talk about, and as we shall see shortly, more effective stimulants follow soon. The ice is broken. The food set before guests may be red-colored rice, which is served at joyful events such as New Year, or white rice, which is prepared when the dead are commemorated. For agricultural holidays the special food is made from the harvested crop, rice or potatoes. A feast plate may also include some pork, cooked in soya sauce, or presented in a mixed dish of vegetables; sometimes, it may be deep fat fried dumplings, either plain or with brown sugar stirred into the batter, or red and white fish cakes, or even several of these together. Less expensive foods, such as noodles and fried fish, are also served during feasts. Tairans have a sweet tooth and eat with relish the pound cakes and cookies which accompany or follow a meal. There is a sufficient quantity of food for the many guests, and whatever they cannot consume during the party, they may wrap up in a newspaper and take home.

527 574 273 Once food is set before the guests, the emptied tea cups are refilled, but this time with sake. This helps immediately to loosen the formal atmosphere which still prevails, at least after one or two cups have been emptied. Before this happens there may be, especially during weddings, family affairs, or the Mayor's reception, a polite exchange of cups between two men, who fill each other's and present it with a little ap-

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preciative statement or an introduction. It is polite to make the rounds in this fashion, to sit before another guest, fill his cup and utter some polite phrases, then wait for a return compliment.

By the time men—and a little later women—have been served food and drink in some quantity, there is no more stiffness in the room, for with every cup of sake animation and voice volume increase. Speeches that have not yet come to a conclusion show definite signs of inspiration; each speaker who sits down is trumped in eloquence by his successor. Long after serious oratory has been dispensed with, a happy celebrant may get up and sonorously hold forth. During fieldwork the authors were frequently the aim of such addresses. In one of them a farmer, quiet and serious during everyday routine but known for his merriment and wit when in his cups, held forth on a future visit to Taira by these Americans. "There will be skyscrapers," he said in a booming voice, "subways, wide lanes and bright lights," and on he went to the delight of everybody.

On such occasions Tairans display their skill in playing with words and their ability to act and mimic. The assistant to the headman, similarly quiet on ordinary days, several months after our arrival came into a room where the authors were present during one of the many post-New Year celebrations. At an advanced stage of merriment himself, he turned to his host and by way of introduction said that he had just come from Hong Kong. "Oh, from Hong Kong," the host said, "that is why you cough so, kong, kong, kong," adding that he himself came from New York (pronounced in Japanese similar to *nyūyoku*, meaning "a bath"), whereupon the arriving guest went into the motions of someone taking a bath, saying "ah from *nyūyoku*," and so the fun went on, mostly as a take-off on the American guests who were present. This reminded the clerk of another story at the expense of the authors, which he told with gusto. "That first day he came to Taira, Maretzki came up to me when I was carrying pebbles from the beach and asked if he could help since he was going to haul pebbles too. Then he started to introduce himself, and I only understood 'Umaretsuki' (similar to Japanese for 'temperament') . . . I waited and waited for a story, but nothing followed. I did not know what to say." He had never repeated this story during many sober encounters.

At another event, when several teachers were present, one of the men, after much gaiety, turned to a female teacher whose husband had left for the city to find a job and called over: "Hey, your mosquito netting must be wide now, huh?" The woman blushed, covered her mouth with a handkerchief and laughed.

The evening is never old before one man, or several who are known

574 for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike in-
533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
[534] is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
574 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring
535 beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand movements the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake, they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
[831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

[562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
[273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother, young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical movements to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her entertainment.

●527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
578 men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
574 be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

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would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance.

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families.

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration.

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people.

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day.

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking.

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

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have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is some question in how much parental influence is relevant here. Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers, on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. The communities participate annually in athletic competitions sponsored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy being sociable while the young men and women engage in various sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

857 526 [157] fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding performance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good performer is occasionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 857 [527] [871] These are games that children may play on any day in the year. During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 [156] Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school, where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

[515] [512]

It will be seen that for males membership in the common descent group is reckoned strictly patrilineally and this membership is permanent. The status of women is less clear. A woman before marriage worships at the ancestral tablets and tomb of her father's family and lineage. If she dies she is buried in his tomb. After her marriage a woman worships at her husband's tomb, where she will be buried, and if he is an eldest son she knows she will ultimately have the responsibility of preparing the offerings put before his family's tablets; but at the same time she continues to worship at the u-machii before the tablets at the main house of her father's group. She may be called upon to contribute to the fund raised by her father's group for ceremonial expenses. And she may even function as a kaminchu for it. A woman's own tablet, when she dies, will be placed with that of her husband. If a woman is widowed or divorced and marries again, she will very likely be buried in the tomb of the family of her first son, regardless of which husband was his father, and her tablet will be put in his house. A woman without sons may feel uncertain of her future. 614 562

It must also be made explicit that the Okinawan common descent group, unlike most unilateral descent groups, is not exogamous. Even cousins related through the male line may marry and it is said that in some communities they do so frequently. I found one cousin marriage within the kin group in Yamada koseki; Lebra found several marriages within the munchu at Kanegusuku. Informants said it was common in some communities. 614 582

2. The Life Cycle

The Calendar Before a description of the life cycle of the individual can be given, a word must be said about the systems the Okinawans use for reckoning time. Two systems are in use, the "old calendar" (in Japanese 'kyūreki') and the "new calendar" ('shinreki'). The first is the same ancient Chinese calendar that is used throughout East Asia; the second is the Western calendar. 805 199

The "old calendar" is essentially a lunar calendar but combined with the twelve lunar months is a system of twenty-four solar periods and a system of naming days and years by the "Ten Stems and Twelve Branches".[1] The lunar year consists of twelve lunar months, designated as "first month", "second month" and so on, of twenty-nine or thirty days, with the fifteenth or sixteenth of each month falling on the night of the full moon. Since the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar year, an inter-calary month must be inserted every three years to hold the year in place, so that Lunar New Year's usually comes some time in February of the Western Calendar. The principal traditional holidays of the year, except for three, are figured in the lunar calendar. Of particular importance are New Year's (the first day of the first month) and U-bung or Shichigwachi (from the 13th to the 15th of the 7th month; the Japanese 'Bon'). [527]

[1] For tables, etc., see Papinot, 1910, Appendix XII.

805 The Chinese solar year is divided into twenty-four periods of about
177 fifteen days each. All of them bear two-character names, "Spring Begins", "Rain Water", "Excited Insects", etc. This division of the year is based on solar phenomena, so that it remains relatively stable. A solar period therefore does not begin on the same lunar date every year. The three holidays
• [529] mentioned above that are calculated by the solar calendar rather than by the lunar are the spring and autumn equinoxes (Fiigang, in Japanese 'Higan') and Shiimii (in Japanese, 'Seimei'; the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, "Clear and Bright"; the period from April 5 to 20). Most farmers, however, do not seem to know even the names of the whole sequence of twenty-four; they merely look at their calendars to see when the important dates fall, much as we look to see when Easter will fall in any given year.

805 The Ten Stems and Twelve Branches (in Japanese 'Jikkan Jūnishi') make up a system of designating both days and years. The ten stems are ten characters named in pairs after the five elements---wood, fire, earth, metal, and water---each occurring twice, once in a senior aspect and once in a junior aspect (or in Chinese "Yang" and "Yin" aspects). The twelve branches are twelve characters named after twelve animals---rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, boar. The two series run simultaneously, beginning "senior-wood rat", "junior-wood ox", and so on, so that after sixty days, or years, have elapsed, the cycle is complete and it is again "senior-
[787] wood rat". On Okinawa the system is used by diviners (sanjinsoo, in J. 'ekisha') in drawing up horoscopes, but is probably not followed in its entirety by the layman. The twelve branches, however, are of interest to everyone. For many ritual purposes the individual is identified by the year of his birth within this cycle of twelve. A person praying may identify himself as a "rat man" or an "ox woman". The yuta, who are otherwise not concerned with calendrical lore, make it a point to ask the birth year of anyone about whom information is desired. An older person when asked his age may give it not in years but as "Year of the Horse," or the like, explaining which cycle only if questioned further. The term for the cycle is saa, so that a person may explain that he is chu-saa, "one cycle", above or below someone of the same
[776] birth year. The twelve animals were even deified; there were twelve images of them scattered through four temples in Shuri. After the new year representatives of Shuri families made offerings before those corresponding to the birth years of all the members of their families.

Age, when it is reckoned in years, is traditionally reckoned not in full years since birth, as in the West, but in total number of years during which one has lived. Thus a child's years are one at birth, two after the following New Year's, three the next New Year's and so on. To know a person's age according to the Western system of reckoning one has to ask "how many full
805 years are you?" Thus what correspond to birthdays in the West are celebrated
527 on New Year's, when everyone simultaneously becomes a year older. The important ones are on the recurrence of the birth year, when one is thirteen, twenty-five, thirty-seven, and so forth, by year-count. These occasions are celebrated on the first occurrence of the corresponding day after the new year. Thus 1954 was the Year of the Horse and so people born during a Year of the Horse celebrated on the first Day of the Horse after New Year's. People are

warned to be careful on days corresponding to their birth-years. A man who was a "bird person" could not go to participate in a bone-washing because it was held on a Day of the Bird. During the recurrence of one's birth-year, he must be cautious during the whole period. 805 527

The Western calendar was introduced into Okinawa after the Japanese annexation, but it is still referred to as the "new calendar". It is the calendar of the schools and government and of business, but not of the farmer. In the city the more important celebration of New Year's is held on the "new" New Year's; in the country it is on "old" New Year's a month later. 805 177

Before the Japanese annexation years were named in an absolute sequence (that is, besides being named by position in the cycles of twelve and of sixty) by the reigns of Chinese emperors. After the annexation the reigns of Japanese emperors were used. At the present time the Western chronology ('seireki') is official, but some still speak of the year 1954 as "Shōwa 29", the 29th year of the reign of the present emperor.

Birth and Infancy: Notions about Conception Okinawans recognize that sexual relations are necessary for but do not always result in conception. Younger people have heard of the struggle of the sperm to reach the egg, but their notions may be rather foggy. For example, a woman in her middle thirties, discussing the responsibilities of parents, argued in the following manner: a woman cannot conceive without having an orgasm; she cannot have an orgasm without feeling love ('aijō'); hence conception is the result of love, hence she should willingly take responsibility for her child. The ethical principle involved in this argument may not be typical, but the lack of precise information of physiology probably is. And it suggests two things: first, that women may inhibit their emotions as a contraceptive measure, and second, they may be willing to take chances in having sex relations thinking that they can inhibit conception. But it is worth noting here that young women do not discuss these matters very freely and hence generalizations may be very unsafe. 842

Condoms are sold in the cities but probably not in the country. A former country woman living in the city believed that country people would use them if they knew of them, but that they do not know. She regarded four children as enough. However, a young unmarried man from the city said that one would use a condom only when visiting a prostitute; it would be insulting to use one with your sweetheart. Some of this attitude may carry over after marriage.

Pregnancy If a woman believes that she may be pregnant she goes to a midwife for a diagnosis. This is usually about three months after her last menstrual period. The fee is usually ¥50. If she is in fact pregnant she continues to consult the midwife and the midwife attends her at the birth of the child. The total fee is about ¥1,000. 843 [759]

For the good of her unborn child a pregnant woman is urged to be happy and to avoid situations potentially harmful to it; for example if she were to go to a funeral or a bone-washing the shii, a sort of soul, of the baby might be drawn into the tomb. [674]

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii sunji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of taro stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [844]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [787]

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to the god of the pigsty-privy. [769] [782]

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanka, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [527] [787]

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example. [178]

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai'). 847 783

885 542 [855] [887] Adult Responsibility For women responsibilities come early. Mothers give their daughters tasks while their sons play. At marriage a woman enters her husband's household and immediately assumes adult burdens that she may not put down until old age. As a grandmother she may still care for grandchildren while her husband has left most of his responsibilities to his sons. She may acquire ritual responsibilities toward her husband's family which can only increase with time.

[857] For a man responsibilities come gradually. Childhood is a time for play---except for the future scholar, or in cases of extreme poverty. Youth is a time when responsibilities may be postponed---except where an oldest son has been orphaned. Even after marriage a young man, though he may have to work hard, is not expected to remain sober and stay home nights. The peak of a man's responsibility comes with full maturity, when he has sons himself and when his father is beginning to age. This peak may rise to greater heights than that of his wife and his labor may be harder and make greater demands on his strength and health. But again in old age he may put his burden down and he is expected to seek those pleasures that he can still enjoy.

542 888 [794] [156] Women's lives may be duller but they are generally longer. And in old age a woman has the compensation of greater freedom than she has ever had before. Old women often speak with a frankness that is embarrassing to young people of either sex. Old women are also the repositories of knowledge of the ancestors and of the supernatural and thus become greatly respected and influential. Both the religious functionaries (kaminchu) of the kinship group and the seeresses or mediums (yuta) consulted on numerous occasions are usually women. An old man, unless he is a scholar or a diviner (sanjinsoo) has less chance of attaining fame.

But old men, as well as old women, may become tyrants. One Yamada family consisted of an old couple and their three grandchildren, the oldest a boy of twenty. This boy was registered as the head of the family, while the old man, according to the register, had retired; but when the boy had the opportunity to make a little money, which he needed for clothes, the old man took it for tobacco. On the other hand he permitted the youths of the neighborhood to hold parties in his house---hoping, one suspects, to help consume the refreshments---something a middle-aged parent might not have tolerated.

898 888 527 Formal Recognition of Old Age A man may officially retire , that is, he may transfer house headship in the register to a son or grandson, but as I have just indicated this may not prevent him from actually holding the family purse strings. For the community formal recognition of old age comes with the celebration of "year days" (tushibii). These are held on the anniversaries of the "birth year" of an old person. A person's birth year is the year, in the cycle of twelve, in which he was born. Since the reckoning of age is a matter of counting the years during which one has lived, the year of birth counts as one and so when the cycle of twelve has passed once and the year is again the birth year, a person's years are thirteen. Each time a person's birth year recurs it marks a significant point in his life. These recurrences are celebrated not on the anniversary of the day of birth but on the first day of the cycle that corresponds to the year, after Lunar New Year's. Thus 1954 was

the Year of the Horse, and so all persons born during any year of the Horse--- 888
1942, 1930, etc.---celebrated their "year day" on the first Day of the Horse 527
of the new year. Although theoretically all year days are important, in practice only those of old age are given much attention. These are the celebrations of the 61st, 73rd, 85th, and 97th years. The 88th and 90th may also be celebrated. The celebration of the year day of an old person is a matter of pride for the whole family; formal invitations are sent, and the guests are served food and drink requiring considerable expense on the part of the family.

Death After his death a person does not cease to be of any importance to 769
the family. On the contrary he takes on a new importance as a focal point for ceremonies and perhaps for feelings of anxiety.

Death is attributed to both natural and supernatural causes[1] with 761
natural causes probably barely in the majority. But there is also the vague notion that one's life span is predetermined.

Almost immediately after the death of a person, members of his family 756
usually consult a yuta to learn if there was any last request or information 763
that the deceased had wished to impart to his family. This might consist of an explanation of his death, a confession of some early misdeed, or last instructions to his heirs. While I was working at Yamada an informant, an energetic, thoroughly likeable old lady, died suddenly. I learned later that her family immediately went to Yakena, some twelve miles away, a place famous for its many yuta. There they consulted a yuta and asked if there had been any message the old woman wanted to communicate. They were told that the old woman had been destined to die a year before but because she was such a good woman she had lived an extra year, during which she had accomplished everything she had intended to do---there was nothing to reveal. The family was relieved and comforted.

The Funeral Women may cry out immediately upon learning that a mem- 764
ber of the family has died. The body is laid in the second room of the house and flexed so that it may be more easily put into the coffin. If the death occurs in the morning the funeral may be held the afternoon of that day; if later in the day, the next afternoon. Offerings are placed before the body and when the funeral is not until the next day, relatives keep a wake over it.

The funeral itself consists of a ceremony at the home of the deceased, a procession to the tomb, and the placing of the coffin in the tomb. These steps may be more or less elaborate depending upon the means of the family. However, the local unit, the 'han' or the chinju, takes responsibility for some activities, making for uniformity. Member of the 'han' or chinju make two paper tablets with the name of the deceased written on them and make a large square wooden box for a coffin. On the afternoon of the funeral, the body is put into the coffin and a tray containing one of the paper tablets, offerings of fruit, and an incense burner is placed before it. If the de- [793]
ceased has requested it, a Buddhist priest may be called from one of the larger towns, but many country people do not call a priest, and indeed may never

1 See Chapter IX.

Two members of the SIRI team both saw bone-washings, and were both impressed by this display. The ceremony I saw consisted not only of the washing of one set of bones but the transfer of another skeleton from another tomb. While the tomb was being prepared the daughter of the man whose bones were being transferred was made to hold the skull. The sight of the teen-age girl holding her father's skull before her, hardly able to move, her lips and eyes shut tight, tears streaming down her face, is one not easily forgotten. 765

The Okinawans are curious about the funeral customs of others, sensitive about their own, and possibly dissatisfied with them. Their sensitivity is shown by the fact that after I had observed the bone-washing just mentioned, someone circulated a rumor, untrue, that I had photographed the ceremony in order to show Americans what went on. This rumor might have seriously damaged my rapport with this family and with others in the community if I had not been defended by the person who had supervised the bone-washing, the old lady mentioned at the beginning of this section. All three SIRI team members were questioned about American practices and heard statements to the effect that perhaps cremation should be adopted. Cremation does, of course, do away with the necessity for both the bone-washings and the large tombs. A crematorium is operating in Naha, but it is doubtful if the practice will spread very rapidly in the country. New tombs, bigger and better than ever, are still being built, old ones are being repaired, and the familiar method of burial and reburial goes on. The prestige attached to the larger and impressive tomb is undoubtedly a factor in the survival of the system. But there may also be psychic needs as yet unexplored that the system and in particular the emotional orgy of the bone-washing satisfies. 764 765 123 829 [554]

Offerings to the Dead After the funeral the family of the deceased makes offerings both before the tomb and before the temporary paper tablet in the home. During the first seven weeks after a death this tablet is kept on a low table with incense burning before it; relatives and neighbors make formal visits in order to burn incense, pray, and leave gifts of money. On every seventh day till the forty-ninth the family makes extra offerings, burns uchikabi (imitation paper money said to be used for paying taxes in the next world), and makes offerings before the tomb. Then the name is written on the permanent tablet. Thereafter, the family makes offerings at the tomb and at the tablets and burns uchikabi on the first, second, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversaries of the death. At the end of this time the deceased is believed to require no more individual consideration---if all the offerings up to that time have been properly made. 765 769

However, throughout each year on a number of occasions offerings are made for all the dead members of the family. These occasions are the major holidays, nearly all of which are primarily directed toward the worship of the dead. The principal of these are: 1) Lunar New Year's; 2) Shiimii, in the spring, an occasion for visiting both the tomb of the immediate family and tombs of more remote ancestors; 3) the U-machii, the 15th days of the 5th and 6th lunar months, occasions when representatives of the larger kin groups worship before the ancestral tablets at the main house; 4) U-bung, during the 7th lunar month, when all the dead are believed to return to the house. Beside these there are a number of minor holidays on which offerings are made. 769 527

769 On the spring and autumn equinoxes imitation money is burned, on other occa-
527 sions special food is offered, and so forth.

775 In spite of the great concern that Okinawans appear to take for the
969 welfare of the dead, they can tell one surprisingly little about what happens to them. According to one account, the dead person crosses seven bridges on his way to the other world; if he has led a wicked life he may have difficulty crossing them. In the next world he needs food and drink and money to pay taxes. Eventually, unless something holds him to this world, he becomes a "Buddha" (J. 'hotoke') or a "god" (J. 'kami-sama')---the terms seem synonymous---and ascends to Heaven. The most clearly defined and frequently heard notion seems to be simply that there is a vast and awful chasm between "this world" and "that world" and that a person who has once crossed the chasm ought to stay on the other side. A dead person may return, however, and appear to the living as a ghost if something disturbs him---a wrong unrighted, for example. Ghosts may attack former enemies or even harm anyone who happens to be around. But also a deceased person may cause disease or other misfortune to come to his own living relatives and descendants if he has not had sufficient help from them through their offerings. Thus many Okinawans, particularly the older people, are greatly concerned about the possibility of an ugwan-busuku, an "insufficiency (fusuku) of worship (ugwang)." They explain sickness, accidents, and lack of success in undertakings as the result of some ugwan-busuku. And so they consult with yuta and other dealers in the supernatural to determine where the insufficiency lies.

They also interpret success or good fortune, especially that which helps the family or larger kin group, as due to the help of the deceased ancestors. A woman gave the following incident as an example. During the bombing that preceded the landing in 1945 she had left the cave where her family was hiding to go to a neighbor's cave just when a great-uncle appeared there looking for a midwife to deliver a daughter's baby. The two related families had not known of each others' whereabouts and the informant's family was overjoyed to be able to move to the better cave of the great-uncle. This, the informant said, was not the result of the protection of the gods but of the ancestors.

The concern of the Okinawans for the dead is great, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is motivated primarily by concern for the living.

3. Prospect of Change

152 Family life provides the individual with the security that he desires
593 but at the same time it gives him a basis for feelings of anxiety. The feelings of security he derives from the love he receives as a child, the honor he receives as a parent, and the knowledge that he will not be neglected in the next world. The solidarity of the family and the continuity of the family are essential to this security and so they are constantly stressed. But he also derives feelings of anxiety from family life. As a child he is carried around in an intimate fashion and then put down and made to run to keep

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kōgyō-zei	Industry Tax.
gyūbasha-zei	Horsecart or Oxcart Tax.
jidōsha-zei	Automotive Vehicle Tax (all types).
rajio-zei	Radio Tax.
denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax.
tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax.
chikken-zei	Dog Tax.
senpaku-zei	Boat Tax.
jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax.
denwa-zei	Telephone Tax.
jigyō-zei	Business Tax
kenkyu-hi	Study Fee. This is assessed on the basis of land holding, and it is used to provide a yearly bonus, 50% of one month's salary, to all the school teachers of Kanegusuku-son. The 'son' feels that the salaries paid by the central government are too low and uses this tax as a means of supplementing them.

[871]

The following work schedule was copied from the blackboard in the township offices of Kanegusuku-son in May, 1954. All of the listed activities are those which must be handled in addition to the regular work load. Virtually all of the scheduled meetings required the presence of the mayor (sonchō); a number of these were held outside of his district (son). At the present time American work schedules are followed. Saturday afternoon and Sunday are regarded as holidays for the office staff, though oftentimes the mayor and department heads may work on those days if there is pressing business.

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Schedule of Activities for Kanegusuku-son Office
for May 1954

May
1st -
2nd - Sunday
3rd - Industrial Conference at Ryukyu-American Cultural Center, Naha.
4th - Welfare Week, May 4th through 10th.
5th - 'Kochōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
6th -
7th -
8th -
9th - Sunday
10th - Meeting of all mayors of municipalities at Okinawa Kaikan, Naha, 10 a.m. Proclamation of law for welfare of children at Sekai Theater, Naha, 2 p.m.
11th -
12th - Injections for pigs for prevention of infectious diseases.
13th - Meeting of Assembly Chairmen's Association of Southern Okinawa at Agricultural Cooperative Club.
Injections for pigs.
14th - Industrial inspection of Southern Okinawa.
Injections for pigs.

[Kochinda-son]

Table XXV, cont'd.

848 163 Birth Month

'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Sept. 1		4	1						1	December	7
Oct.	1	1		2					1	January	5
Nov. 1	2	4	1	1		1	1		5	February	16
Dec. 1		1			1	1		1	1	March	6
Total: 11	11	20	10	11	7	7	5	2	25		109[1]

The number of illegitimate children born in the year and a half following the outbreak of the Korean War doubled. The demoralization and uncertainty which accompanied the withdrawal of United Nations forces may be reflected in the rise in illegitimacy. Similarly it is seen that the rate returned to its postwar normal course with the advance of the fighting to positions nearer the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

848 163 527 Interesting also is the "season of conception" pattern that is suggested by the above chart. The greatest number of mothers were impregnated in February, which in most years contains the Lunar New Year's season. It is the occasion for much visiting around and many parties. The month containing the next highest number of impregnations is August. This is the month of the O-bon season, when community contests are held, and 'awamori' flows even more freely than usual. October and November---seasons of cooperative rice harvest---and April, the month of lunar sangwachi sannichi (Third Month, Third Day---Women's Festival), are the months of the third most frequent impregnations, or conceptions.

163 To some extent this approximates the season of birth-pattern for Okinawa Gunto in 1951 and 1952:

Table XXVI

Month of Birth	Births 1951[2]	Births 1952[2]	Total Births 1951-1952	Month of Conception
January	2,347	2,056	4,403	April
February	1,876	2,108	3,984	May
March	2,108	1,837	3,945	June
April	1,713	1,713	3,426	July
May	1,711	1,563	3,274	August
June	1,575	1,396	2,971	September
July	1,602	1,366	2,968	October
August	1,851	1,449	3,300	November
September	1,792	1,868	3,660	December
October	2,326	2,245	4,571	January
November	2,414	2,106	4,520	February
December	1,753	2,268	4,021	March

1 This excludes two whose birthdate data were not complete, and one born in 1954.

2 Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 77.

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 • 196 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 575

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177